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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role expectations of the urban black principal as perceived by the principal himself, and by significant other blacks, both educators and non-educators. It is hypothesized that; (1) black principals are more apt to be employed in schools with a predominantly black student body rather than a school with a predominantly white student body; (2) significant other black administrators will have a higher expectation of black principals than the black principal may have of himself in areas of client orientation as it relates to advocacy, and initiative as it relates to creativity in role; and, (3) influential blacks and other active black community persons will have a higher expectation of black principals than the black principal may have of himself in areas of client orientation as it relates to advocacy, and initiative as it relates to creativity in role. Records of a large urban school system pertinent to the school years September 1954 through August 1972, were collected and utilized for purposes of this study. A stratified sample was obtained to test adequately the hypotheses by choosing respondents from three relatively discrete populations within the total school community: principals, administrators subordinate to the principal, and influential and active community persons. (Author/JM)

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The Role Expectation of the Black Urban Principal as Perceived by Himself, Administrators, Influentials and Other Active Community Persons

by

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Introduction

In 1954, in its decision in the case of Brown vs. The Board of Education, the Supreme Court of the United States dealt with the most obvious problem of educating Negroes, when it held that a legally supported system of school segregation was unconstitutional.[1] This decision had tremendous impact on the policies of Boards of Education throughout the nation. School Boards were forced then to assume the obligation or the "burden" as some Boards viewed it, of submitting to the local courts, desegregation schedules, plans and programs designed to implement the Supreme Court's decision.

The Board of Education of one large urban school system, hereafter referred to as Spring City, at the urging of the Educational League and other civic organizations, made the following statement in 1958.[2]

> WHEREAS, The Board of Public Education seeks to provide the best education possible for all children; and
>
> WHEREAS, The Educational League and other organizations have requested the option of written policies for full interracial integration of pupils and teachers:
>
> BE IT RESOLVED, that the official policy of the Board of Public Education, Spring City, continues to be that there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin the placement, instruction and guidance of pupils; the employment, assignment, training and promotion of personnel; the provision and maintenance of physical facilities, supplies and equipment, the development and implementation of the curriculum, including the activities program; and in all other matters relating to the administration and supervision of the public schools and all policies related thereto; and,

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[1]Gittel, Marilyn, Educating an Urban Population - Sage Pub. Inc., Beverly Hills, California, p. 70.

[2]Special Committee on Nondiscrimination, Board of Public Education, Spring City, 1964, p. 6.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that notice of this resolution be given to all personnel.

A census study published by a major Spring City daily newspaper illustrates population shifts within the last decade, 1960-1970, and the resultant effect on the racial makeup of the Spring City. The non-white population of Spring City increased by nearly eight percent, and the result was that a few areas, previously racially balanced or predominantly white, now became predominantly black. One census tract evidenced the following change:[3]

TABLE I

Population Changes in Spring City

	1960	1970
White Population	8,359	1,970
Black Population	9	8,413

This rapid population change had an impact on the commercial and public sector of these communities. The data encouched in Table II illustrates the impact of these population changes on the Spring City school system.[4]

The shift, and/or the increase in the school system's black population, tended to create an increase in the total pupil enrollment of many schools. Twenty-eight percent of the Spring City's white population was age 18 or under in 1960, compared with 38 percent of the black population

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[3]King, Maxwell, Spring City Inquirer, March 12, 1972.

[4]Office of Research, Spring City School System, 1971.

TABLE II

Percent of Enrollment - Negro Pupils 1959-1971
Spring City School System

	1959	1962	1964	1966	1968	1971
District A	72	82	85	86	86	89
District B	82	84	84	86	86	86
District C	48	52	56	64	60	57
District D	72	80	83	89	92	95
District E	38	44	47	50	51	46
District F	26	34	41	52	60	74
District G	4	6	11	20	22	26
District H	1	1	1	2	4	3
All Schools	45	51	54	58	59	61

of that age group. Thirteen percent of the blacks were less than five years of age as compared with nine percent of the whites.[5] These facts posed serious implications for future school enrollment projections, and employment requirements for Spring City. Enrollment data compiled on three schools located in the census tract, and referred to in the newspaper article, highlights the rapid changes in the racial composition which occurred in some neighborhoods.

TABLE III [6]

Percent of Black Pupils Enrolled as a Result of Change in the Racial Composition of One Census Tract

	1959	1962	1964	1966	1968	1971
Elementary						
King	5	47	77	93	96	98
Penn	--	--	5	33	68	96
Rock	--	2	42	86	96	99

[5] Odell, William R. Educational Survey Report for Spring City School System, 1965, p. 3.

[6] Office of Research, Spring City School System.

Black families moved into these areas with the expectation of improving their living conditions. Blacks moved into neighborhoods with a reputation for providing a "quality education," and expected a "quality education" for their children. The fact that many black families included several school age children often caused the overall pupil enrollment of the local school to increase beyond its constructed capacity. The school system attempted to adjust to this problem at the elementary school level by utilizing some or all, of the following techniques:

1. By having pupils in grades one through three attend school in "three-hour-a-day" shifts.
2. By busing the excess pupils in one school to a school not fully utilized.
3. By constructing portable school buildings.

Congested school conditions caused black families and neighborhood civic organizations to voice criticism of the quality of education in Spring City. Supportive criticism was proffered by major organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and the Educational League. A newly organized committee of 400 Black Ministers also supported this movement.[7] The above named supportive groups made presentations at public meetings of the Spring City Board of Education, charging: overcrowding, lack of a full school day schedule for pupils, and teacher shortages in sections of the city with a predominantly black population, all denied the pupils of their constitutional right to acceptable quality education. These supportive groups also

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[7]Special Committee on Nondiscrimination, Board of Public Education, Spring City, 1964, p. 6.

charged the Spring City Board of Public Education with discriminatory practices against blacks.

The Spring City Board of Education in an effort to meet the criticism of these groups, appointed a Committee on Nondiscrimination.[8] This committee was assigned the task of collecting relevant data concerning the dimensions of the problems as they affected the education of black pupils in Spring City public schools. The committee studied also the distribution pattern and promotional practices for qualified black personnel at the supervisory and administrative levels. The committee found that promotional procedures were vague and there was a suspicion that experienced blacks with advanced degrees had been victims of discrimination. Effecting an increase in the upgrading and appointment of qualified blacks became a pressing concern of the Nondiscrimination Committee and of the State Human Relations Commission. Responding to the concerns of these two groups, the following provisional appointments were made by the Board of Education.[9]

1. Two new District Superintendents (black)
2. One Assistant to the Associate Superintendent in charge of elementary schools (black)
3. One principal (black) was assigned to the division of School Community Relations.

In January 1966, the Mayor of Spring City appointed new members to the Board of Education. Two of the appointees were blacks who had served on the Nondiscrimination Committee. The recommendations of the Educational

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[8] Ibid., p. 9.

[9] Special Committee on Nondiscrimination, p. XXII.

Survey Report, and the Nondiscrimination Report were available for action by the new Board of Education which was committed to a policy programmed to upgrade the quality of public education in Spring City.

Rationale for the Study

The Spring City Board of Education, in 1963, listed among its administrative positions, 249 principalships. Included in this 19 were black, at the elementary level and one at the senior high school level. Pressure exerted by many interested black groups caused that number to be increased in 1964 to 26 principals at the elementary school level, and four at the junior high school level. The number of black principals had again increased in number by 1971. The number now had reached 46 at the elementary school level, ten at the junior high school level, and six at the senior high school level. An additional 16 secondary vice-principals also were appointed. There was a total of 317 principalships in Spring City at this time, and of this number, 64 were held by blacks, representing 28.8 percent of the administrative positions in all categories.[10]

The increase in the number of black principals in Spring City was brought about by the pressure efforts of black civic organizations, the effects of the changed racial composition of neighborhoods, court decisions, and decisions of the Board of Education in response to the discrimination charges, and to allegations that the Board of Education was indifferent to the overcrowded conditions which seemed to be at the root of poor pupil achievement. The Spring City Board of Education was vulnerable to

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[10] Race, The Office of Community Affairs, Spring City School District, June, 1971.

the above charges. The new Board, committed to improving the quality of education for all children, began to implement some of the recommendations of the Educational Survey Report and the Nondiscrimination Committee. The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools instituted a five-year capital program to build new schools, and established new examination criteria for administrative positions, including the principalship. Qualified blacks were among the successful candidates who participated in these examinations.

Theoretical Framework for Hypotheses

According to Campbell and Layton, Americans expect a great many public benefits from their schools and in recent decades these expectations appear to be increasing, particularly those expectations that schools contribute to the national security, economic growth, social mobility and improved citizenship.[11] Black parents and black civic organizations in Spring City were disturbed because of the poor performance of black children in the basic skills of writing, reading and computing. Black parents sought greater participation in the decisions and policy making process, in an effort to secure viable solutions to their current educational problems, and to have the schools become more responsive to them. "Black communities" now impose this alternative on educational leaders through the demand for black principals, black teachers and black studies.[12] This

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[11]Ronald Campbell and Donald Layton, Policy Making for American Education (Chicago: Follett, 1969), p. 13.

[12]Barbara A. Sizemore, Educational Leadership for the Black Community: A Practitioner's View. Ed 042845 Pub. Date '70.

investigation assumes that the movement toward black identity has made impressive demands on the Spring City School System which may be translated into different role expectations for the black principal.

Principals are assigned to schools in Spring City only after meeting specific qualifications in formal education and experience. The job description, or defined role, does not vary for each incoming person. Principals occupy a status position which presumes that the occupant will bring with him certain attitudes and behavioral patterns as a result of his prior socialization.

Purpose of the Study

This study proposes to investigate the role expectations of the urban black principal (perceptions of what is and expectations of what should be) as perceived by the principal himself, and by significant other blacks, both educators and non-educators.

The concept of role as "structurally given demands of a position" may be termed, role definition. The second use of role, "conceptions of a participant in an organization," then becomes more specific with the term role expectation; and the final use, "actions of individual members in terms of their relevance for the social structure," is clearly differentiated from the others by the use of the term role perception.[13]

Studies in the dilemmas and contradictions of status, record the following case history.[14] A Negro physician driving through Northern

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[13]Ralph L. Boyers, "Role Perceptions and Role Conflicts Related to Institutional Research in Two Year Colleges." (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University.)

[14]Everett C. Hughes, The Sociological Eye. Selected Papers (Aldine-Atherton, Chicago, p. 142.

Indiana came upon a crowd gathered around a white man just seriously injured in a road accident. The physician tended the man and followed the ambulance to the hospital. Authorities at the hospital tried to prevent him from entering the hospital long enough to report to staff physicians what service he had rendered the patient.

The same physician received a phone call one Sunday to visit an alleged very sick woman. The person answering the door observed that the physician was a Negro and denied both the presence of a sick woman and the fact of the call. The physician insisted on being paid for the visit. The fee was promptly paid without protest, "thereby revealing the lie." The urgency of the first situation made it necessary for the black physician to treat the patient. The second situation was not an emergency and the person answering the door perceived that the service of the physician because of his color was dispensible.

The Negro Personnel man is a new figure on the American industrial scene. His functions as described by those industries employing Negroes are:

1. to adjust difficulties of Negro workers
2. to settle minor clashes between races
3. to interpret management policies to the Negro
4. to explain the Negro's point of view to management.

In summary, "the Negro Personnel man was only interacting with Negro employees," and was to represent the system to the blacks.[15]

Kornhauser studied the role of the Negro union official. One interesting finding, contrary to the union's constitution giving union

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[15]Arthur Kornhauser, "The Negro Union Official," American Journal of Sociology (Vol. LVII, March 1952), p. 449.

officials authority over areas of activity, was that the Negro typically was given authority only over Negro members. Whenever racial conflicts occurred he was expected to "straighten things out" by dealing with his "own people." "Therefore the presence of a Negro in office has a tendency of redefining the position."[16]

The preceding studies lead to the following hypotheses:

H1 Black principals are more apt to be employed in schools with a predominantly black student body rather than a school with a predominantly white student body.

H2 Significant other black administrators will have a higher expectation of black principals than the black principal may have of himself in areas of client orientation as it relates to advocacy, and initiative as it relates to creativity in role.

One reason for this hypothesis is stated by Thomas,[17] who implies that "workers" in close proximity to their clientele are likely to be willing to assume greater responsibility for their clientele than "workers" somewhat removed physically from their clientele.

H3 Influential blacks and other active black community persons will have a higher expectation of black principals than the black principal may have of himself in areas of client orientation as it relates to advocacy, and initiative as it relates to creativity in role.

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[16] Ibid., p. 452.

[17] Biddle, Role Theory, p. 154.

Kornhauser's[18] study indicated that individuals:

> . . . often are sponsored for a position solely on the basis of membership in a minority race, family name, or a special constituency. In all such cases the sponsors' expectations for the role of the sponsored, and the manner in which that role is supported and modified by the latter's conduct, reveal aspects of the dynamics of the group as a whole.

These studies seem to indicate that:

1. perceptions of significant others are important in formulating the role an individual is anticipated to perform.
2. different expectations of individuals often depends upon their racial identity and group membership.

Newspaper articles and statements of civic organizations at meetings of the Spring City Board of Education reporting the concerns of black parents and community agencies, indicated that they preferred principals who they perceived had compassion for, and acted in behalf of the welfare of the black pupils. Blau in his writings agrees that this is a legitimate concern. He states, "the responsibility of a professional is that decisions should not be governed by his own best interest, but by what will best serve his client."[19] Additional supports in the literature for this hypothesis (H3) are:

1. Professional codes of ethics condemn emotional involvement with the client.[20]
2. Teachers place a high value on the support of peers and the principal, in encounters with parents and pupils.[21]

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[18]Kornhauser, American Journal of Sociology, p. 452.

[19]Blau and Scott, Formal Organizations, p. 51.

[20]Ibid., p. 63.

[21]Donald J. Willower, "The Teacher Subculture and Rites of Passage," Urban Education, p. 6.

Method

The procedural steps followed were: Selection of Sample, Data Collection, Data Preparation and Data Analysis.

Selection of Sample

Records of the Spring City School System, pertinent to the school years September 1954 through August 1972, were collected and utilized for purposes of this study. These records included minutes of the Spring City Board of Education, special reports of Consultants to the Spring City Board of Education. Also included were special reports of School Board Committees, School Board personnel and pupil records, and newspaper articles pertinent to this study. Official records of this nature were utilized as source documents for this study.

A stratified sample was obtained to test adequately the hypotheses by choosing respondents from three relatively discreet populations within the total school community: principals, administrators superordinate to the principal, and influential and active community persons.

A. Principals

The first step in the sampling procedure entailed the partitioning of all principals into the appropriate level of the school system's organizational structure - elementary, junior high and senior high. A separate number was assigned to each black principal at the proper service level. A random selection procedure with replacement, was used to select ten elementary, six junior high and four senior high principals from the total number of black principals employed.

B. School Administrators Superordinate to the Principal

Personnel records of the Spring City Board of Education were used to identify 17 black administrators superordinate to the principal. Their respective positions and their frequencies were: directors 11, district superintendents three, associate superintendents two, and executive deputy superintendents one.

A simple random selection, with replacement procedure, was used to select four of the 11 directors. All administrative positions above the director level were selected. The total was six. The actual number of school administrators (participants) identified was 17, and the number of school administrators selected was ten.

C. Community, Influential and Active

The third step was to identify the community sample of blacks who were influential or actively involved in school issues. Influentials, either as individuals or as presidents of civic organizations were determined by their community status and their involvement in the special issue of the Spring City School System. The list of black influentials was established subsequent to a review of the minutes of the Board of Education in which was recorded the names of organizations recognized as consistently representing the concerns of the black community, on major school issues during the years 1954 through 1971. Fourteen "Influentials" met this criteria. Following identification of the 14 at the city level, a random choice with replacement procedure was used to select eight of the group as possible participants. The positions of the individuals selected were as follows:

Two Board of Education Members

Two Members of the City Council

Presidents of -

Urban League

Educational Equality League

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Urban Coalition

Other active blacks, for the purpose of this study were defined as presidents of local Home and School Associations.

Records of the School Board were reviewed for the purpose of:

1. isolating sub-districts with a school population 30 percent or more black, and
2. listing the names of the presidents of the Home and School Associations for those sub-districts.

Six of the eight sub-districts reviewed met the 30 percent criteria for black students. The schools in each of the six sub-divisions then were divided into northern and southern divisions, a total of 12 divisions.

One Home and School president was selected from each of the 12 divisions, again using the random selection method with replacement procedure. Those 12 selected in this process, were in addition to the eight influentials previously selected, making a grand total of 20 community persons available for purposes of this study.

The investigator then telephoned each individual selected describing briefly the project and extending an invitation to participate. All respondents agreed to participate. Interviews averaged two hours in length, and all were conducted in a similar manner.

Data

H1 There will be no difference in the placement of black principals as determined by the racial composition of the school. Data collected were cast into contingency tables and chi square was used to test for significant relationships.

TABLE IV

Assignment of Principals and Percentage of Black Student Body

Principal		Black Students		Totals
		69% or less	70% or more	
B.P.	E=	30.71	33.29	64
	O=	6.00	58.00	
O.P.	E=	100.29	108.71	209
	O=	125.00	84.00	
Totals		131	142	273

Significant at the .05 = 3.932

Chi Square (1) = 49.931

The researcher required a significance of .05 or less to reject the null hypothesis. Hypothesis one was therefore rejected in its null form.

H2 There will be no difference in the expectation of significant other black administrators and black principals in the area of client orientation as it relates to advocacy, initiative as it relates to creativity.

TABLE V

Client-Rule Orientation
Observed Frequencies
Administrators

	C.C.	P.C.	P.R.	C.R.
1	1.00	9.00	0.00	0.00
2	1.00	9.00	0.00	0.00
3	6.00	4.00	0.00	0.00
4	4.00	4.00	2.00	0.00
5	1.00	9.00	0.00	0.00
6	3.00	6.00	1.00	0.00
7	3.00	5.00	2.00	0.00
8	3.00	7.00	0.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 32.671

Chi Square$_{(21)}$ = 22.331

H2

TABLE VI

Client-Rule Orientation
Observed Frequencies
Principals

	C.C.	P.C.	P.R.	C.R.
1	0.00	19.00	1.00	0.00
2	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
3	2.00	17.00	1.00	0.00
4	5.00	12.00	3.00	0.00
5	0.00	17.00	3.00	0.00
6	10.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
7	3.00	2.00	6.00	9.00
8	4.00	16.00	0.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 32.671

Chi Square$_{(21)}$ = 113.435

H2

TABLE VII

Administrator's Frequencies
Initiative Behavior

	S.A.	A.	D.	S.D.
1	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
2	1.00	1.00	7.00	1.00
3	1.00	1.00	7.00	1.00
4	2.00	7.00	1.00	0.00
5	3.00	6.00	1.00	0.00
6	0.00	3.00	7.00	0.00
7	2.00	6.00	2.00	0.00
8	0.00	0.00	9.00	1.00
9	2.00	6.00	2.00	0.00
10	0.00	2.00	7.00	1.00
11	0.00	1.00	8.00	1.00
12	4.00	5.00	1.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 24.996

Chi Square$_{(15)}$ Legalistic = 9.467

Initiative = 9.997

H2

TABLE VIII

Principal's Frequencies
Initiative Behavior

	S.A.	A.	D.	S.D.
1	8.00	8.00	4.00	0.00
2	0.00	3.00	16.00	1.00
3	0.00	1.00	12.00	7.00
4	7.00	12.00	1.00	0.00
5	6.00	14.00	0.00	0.00
6	2.00	12.00	6.00	0.00
7	7.00	12.00	1.00	0.00
8	1.00	4.00	9.00	6.00
9	5.00	15.00	0.00	0.00
10	3.00	6.00	11.00	0.00
11	1.00	5.00	13.00	1.00
12	8.00	10.00	2.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 24.996

Chi Square$_{(15)}$ Legalistic = 44.635

Initiative = 12.275

H3 There will be no difference in the expectations of black influential and active community persons, and the expectations of black principals in the area of client orientation as it relates to advocacy and initiative as it relates to creativity.

TABLE IX

Client-Rule Orientation
Observed Frequencies
Community

Quest	Complete Client	Partly Client	Partly Rule	Complete Rule
1	0.00	19.00	1.00	0.00
2	2.00	18.00	0.00	0.00
3	0.00	18.00	0.00	2.00
4	2.00	15.00	0.00	3.00
5	3.00	16.00	1.00	0.00
6	12.00	3.00	4.00	1.00
7	3.00	8.00	1.00	8.00
8	1.00	14.00	4.00	1.00

Significant at the .05 level = 32.671

Chi Square$_{(21)}$ = 93.841

H3

TABLE X

Client-Rule Orientation
Observed Frequencies
Principal

	C.C.	P.C.	P.R.	C.R.
1	0.00	19.00	1.00	0.00
2	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
3	2.00	17.00	1.00	0.00
4	5.00	12.00	3.00	0.00
5	0.00	17.00	3.00	0.00
6	10.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
7	3.00	2.00	6.00	9.00
8	4.00	16.00	0.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 32.671

Chi Square$_{(21)}$ = 113.435

H3

TABLE XI

Administrative Behavior (Initiative)
Community Frequencies

	S.A.	A.	D.	S.D.
1	13.00	6.00	1.00	0.00
2	0.00	1.00	9.00	10.00
3	1.00	4.00	7.00	8.00
4	4.00	11.00	3.00	2.00
5	12.00	8.00	0.00	0.00
6	1.00	15.00	4.00	0.00
7	9.00	11.00	0.00	0.00
8	2.00	3.00	11.00	4.00
9	11.00	7.00	2.00	0.00
10	0.00	3.00	12.00	5.00
11	0.00	2.00	11.00	7.00
12	10.00	9.00	1.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 24.996

Chi Square$_{(15)}$ Legalistic = 24.996

Initiative = 23.488

H3

TABLE XII

Administrative Behavior (Initiative)
Principal's Frequencies

	S.A.	A.	D.	S.D.
1	8.00	8.00	4.00	0.00
2	0.00	3.00	16.00	1.00
3	0.00	1.00	12.00	7.00
4	7.00	12.00	1.00	0.00
5	6.00	14.00	0.00	0.00
6	2.00	12.00	6.00	0.00
7	7.00	12.00	1.00	0.00
8	1.00	4.00	9.00	6.00
9	5.00	15.00	0.00	0.00
10	3.00	6.00	11.00	0.00
11	1.00	5.00	13.00	1.00
12	8.00	10.00	2.00	0.00

Significant at the .05 level = 24.996

Chi Square$_{(15)}$ Legalistic = 44.635

Initiative = 12.275

Findings

1. Black principals were assigned to schools with a predominantly black student enrollment.

2. Administrators had a higher expectation of the black principal in the area of client orientation than the black principal had of himself.

3. Influential and Active Community persons had a higher expectation of the black principal in the area of client orientation than the black principal had of himself.

4. The expectations of the black principal in the area of client orientation, evidenced a closer relationship to the expectations of community persons than was evidenced in the comparison with the black administrators.

5. Black superordinate administrators had a higher expectation of the black principal in the area of initiative, than the black principal had of himself in that area.

6. Community persons had a higher expectation of the black principal than the black principal had of himself in the area of initiative.

7. Superordinate Administrators tended to respond to both questionnaires - Client - Role Orientation and Administrative Behavior Surveys - with more consistence than the principals or community persons.

Implications

Role conflict is almost unavoidable for the black principal. The role expectation of the black principal is many things to many people - probably too many things to too many people. The black community presumes that the black principal inately has a preferred knowledge and understanding

of the cultural background of the people he is serving. All community participants stated that the black principal should be more vocal and more demanding in his effort to acquire adequate staff resources vital for a successful school program in the black community. The community senses that major decisions are not permissible at the local school level. This handicap limits that authority of the black principal as he attempts to design new programs, re-allocate his current staff, and acquire supportive staff necessary for a successful fruition of the kind of constructive program he envisions.

A black principal, regardless of his qualification score, is more likely to receive a hardship assignment than his white counterpart. Service in hardship or high risk areas often means for the black principal struggling for early survival, and compliance to procedures he deems questionable.

The black principal should become aware of the fact that the black community is growing politically, and will support his leadership in any honest effort to secure quality education for all children.

Research in any category, as it concerns itself with blacks in the performance of administrative duties, is fraught with many obstacles that seemingly are inate because of the touchy element of "inferred racism." No relief from these obstacles is predicted within a forseeable future, but their very presence points up the persistent and abiding need for more research in this field, and for research in increasing depth.

Suggested research as a follow-up to the present study:

1. Considering the amount and the quality of data available, research is needed to determine practical criteria for job assignments of black principals in today's large urban centers.

2. Research is needed to establish practical criteria for cooperative participation of the School Board with influential community personnel and for community civic organizations, in the specific area of curriculum standards for so-called black and deprived urban city local school districts.

END

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